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Senate - Political



MEMORANDA

ON THE

REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS FOR THE HOUSE OF
COMMONS—ANALYSIS OF DISCUSSIONS IN
PARLIAMENT AND STATISTICS AND
GENERAL INFORMATION CON-
CERNING REDISTRIBUTION
BILLS.

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PART I.

REDISTRIBUTION BILLS, 1892, 1893, 1899, 1900, 1903.

ANALYSIS OF DEBATES.

1892.

The Bill was brought down April 29, 1892, and passed the House June 28 (assented to July 9), the census, of date March 1891, having necessitated reductions—Nova Scotia from 21 to 20, New Brunswick from 16 to 14, Prince Edward Island, from 6 to 5; and one increase—Manitoba, from 5 to 7; while in Ontario (92), Quebec (65), British Columbia (6), and the Territories (4), the numbers remained unchanged.

(1) *Position of the parties as to what body should frame the redistribution.*

The Government position was that it was a matter for which the Administration was responsible and there was no room for delegation. (3256, Sir John Thompson).

The positions of Opposition leaders on this were not entirely reconcileable. All were for delegation of some sort. Mr. Laurier moved an amendment, for which all voted, that the bill be referred to a committee of both parties to *agree upon the lines or principles* on which a redistribution bill should be drawn (3129). This was urged under the Gladstone precedent of 1884. He maintained, however, that the duty of redistribution itself was for Parliament and could not be delegated, for instance, to a commission of judges (3126). Others contended that once the principles were fixed it would not be proper for the House to apply them—that Section 51 of the British North America Act imposed on Parliament the duty, after laying down the principles and time for operation, to provide an outside authority to make the readjustment. (Mr. Davies, 3239-3245; Mr. Mills, 3275-3279).

Sir John Thompson replied that under a power equivalent to inherent power in other assemblies, Parliament could redistribute when and how it pleased and Section 51 was not a limitation on that (3260-3262). On the same point, Mr. Dickey, 3414-3422; Mr. Weldon, 3464 et seq.

(2) *Positions of the parties on the principles that should govern redistribution.*

The Government's starting point was the Redistribution Act of 1882—this because whatever the faults of that Act (admitted by some) it was the underlying purpose now to interfere as little as possible with representation and it was the better principle to preserve as far as possible the geographical lines and historical continuity of existing electoral districts which had become fixed and impressed by the stresses of three federal elections. (Sir John Thompson, 1863, 3255 et seq., 3796, 3873; Mr. Ouimet, 1867, 1869, 3132; Mr. Haggart, 3438; Mr. Weldon, 3464 et seq.).

Sir John Thompson said:

"We have been guided, Sir, by the principle almost exclusively—and "where we have acted on any other principle that will be explained when we "come to details—that we should only interfere with the representation in those "districts where additional representation for increased population had to be "provided". (3255).

Where changes are necessary the primary principle is representation according to population; but this is not mathematically absolute since regard must be had for the just representation of different races and creeds, for various interests, manufacturing, agriculture, etc., as well as for geographical convenience. (Mr. Desjardins, 3208 et seq.; Mr. Weldon, 3874-3876).

The various positions taken by the Opposition may perhaps be taken as alternatives; otherwise they are somewhat inconsistent. For on the one hand it was contended—even by some as a matter of constitutional law—that in provinces such as Quebec and Ontario, where the census brought about no change in the total representation there should be no redistribution. (Mr. Laurier, 3118, 3992; Mr. Davies, 3701; Mr. Bechard, 3992. Amendments to that effect: Mr. Somerville's 3665, 3718; Mr. Laurier's motion to strike out the section redistributing Quebec, 3973). On the other hand, admitting the necessity of redistribution, the principle most vigorously urged by the Opposition (that is, laying aside the charge that the Bill was an "odious gerrymander", 3118) was that county and city boundaries should be adhered to in fixing the electoral districts. (Mr. Laurier, 1866, 3784; Mr. Mills, 3271, 3273; Sir Richard Cartwright, 3429; Mr. Paterson, 3454-3459. Amendments embodying this principle: Mr. McCarthy's, concurred in by the Opposition, 3414, 3636; Mr. Mills', as to Ontario, 3761; 3908; Sir Richard Cartwright's as to Ontario, 4334; Mr. Yeo's, as to Prince Edward Island, 4335). This applied only to Ontario, Quebec and Prince Edward Island, since elsewhere there was no criticism on this score.

The Government replied that:

"the principle for which hon. gentlemen opposite contend, that we must above all things stand on county boundaries, is by no means an infallible principle, because within the county lines either side of the House can work as despicable a gerrymander as ever was offered". (Sir John Thompson, 3793; Mr. Haggart, 3438; Mr. Dickey, 3425).

Further, it was laid down by the leader of the Opposition that the changes ought to be such as to leave the equilibrium existing now between party and party the same after redistribution as now". (3120).

Sir John Thompson replied that:

"no more false principle can lie at the basis of any measure for redistribution, or any measure for the extension of the franchise. What political party has a vested right in the equilibrium of parties?" and proceeded to lay down that the first object of a Redistribution Bill ought to be that the distribution should be fair, that it should interfere as little as possible with the existing lines, and should not interfere with these except when some serious occasion calls for it, but that when a serious occasion does call for it, the change should be carried out without regard to the effect on either political party or on the equilibrium of the parties" (3258-3259): "Mr. Weldon, 3875).

Later the Opposition leader modified his ground on this (3970).

Again there was a difference in attitude toward the fixing of representation of urban and rural populations. The Opposition claimed that cities, because of greater influence and because members for rural constituencies often come from cities, did not need the same consideration. (Mr. Laurier, 3119; Mr. Mills, 3686). The difference is a matter of emphasis, rather than one capable of concrete demonstration; the Government, while admitting some force in the claim, contended that a great increase in city population should not be ignored and that the principle should be recognized only to the extent of bringing about some reduction of the representation that population would otherwise give. (Sir John Thompson, 3255; Mr. Desjardins, 3212 et seq.; Mr. Weldon, 3873-3875).

It should also be noted that the Opposition recognized in form that the guiding principle should be as far as possible to equalize the population in all the constituencies." (Mr. Laurier, 3970, 3125).

There was some discussion about the time the Act should go into effect (4321-4322). This seems to have been unnecessary as the British North America Act provided that
 "such readjustment shall not take effect until the termination of the then existing Parliament."

REDISTRIBUTION BILLS.

1893.

This was simply a bill to amend the Act of 1892, by a more accurate definition of the boundaries of Nipissing electoral district to conform to the amended boundaries of Ontario, to correct clerical errors with respect to the City of Ottawa, so as ensure that it should have two members as intended, and to correct other errors.

There was no controversy or party position disclosed.

1899.

The Bill was introduced by the Prime Minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier) on May 19th, 1899, and passed the House on July 10th. It was defeated in the Senate.

(1) As to the Propriety of a Redistribution Bill except immediately after a census.

The principal position of the Opposition was that it was not proper to bring in a Redistribution Bill at this time, since the British North America Act in spirit if not in express terms contemplates redistribution only after the decennial census. (Sir Charles Tupper, 3449, 5242-49, 5263-65; Mr. Sproule, 3468, 6676-78; Mr. R. L. Borden, 6651-6660; Mr. Powell 6696-99).

The Government's position was that this was not to be a total redistribution but was to remedy what were conceived to be the worst defects of the Act of 1892 (Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 3442, 6758; Mr. Mulock 5207). This was argued to be constitutional (Mr. Bell 6524-28; Mr. Russell, 6660-6668), Precedents such as the Acts of 1869, 1887, 1893—were cited (Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 3457). But these it was pointed out were merely Acts to correct errors clerical and otherwise (Sir Charles Tupper, 5264-5).

Because of its view on this question the Opposition refused to interfere with the terms of the Bill or take the responsibility of moving any amendments (Sir Charles Tupper, 6759. In fact no amendments were moved).

(2) As to the principles that should govern redistribution.

Here there was diametrical opposition between the two parties as to the emphasis that should be laid on the two principles, maintenance of county boundaries and representation by population.

The Government took the position that the maintenance of county boundaries should be the paramount consideration, the other secondary (Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 3444, 3463; Mr. Casey, 3471; Sir Richard Cartwright, 3481; Mr. Mulock 5209, 5210-11, 6816; Mr. Russell, 6674-75; Mr. McCarthy, 6690; Mr. Paterson, 5289, 6770; Mr. Fielding, 6982).

The opposition on the other hand, put the greater emphasis on the principle of representation according to population though it was recognized that it should be an aim as far as possible to avoid distributing long established municipal lines.

"The principle of population has always been considered even from the first, although not to the same extent and with increasing weight and importance,

always has been considered—not as a hard and fast line by which you must adopt the same unit of population, irrespective of county lines, but to be followed as far as is practicable without doing violence to certain constituencies and time honoured rights which the electors had possessed. The principle of population was considered as one of great importance. My Right Hon. Friend has discarded entirely the question of population". (Sir Charles Tupper, 5273). To the same effect; Sir Charles Tupper, 3453, 5235; Mr. Tisdale, 3464; Mr. Sproule, 3468; Mr. Robertson, 6548; Mr. McNeil, 6598; Mr. R. L. Borden, 6650; Mr. Roche, 6686; Mr. Powell, 6700–02; Mr. Clarke Wallace, 6808, As to Nova Scotia Sir Charles Tupper (6981–82) versus Mr. Fielding (6980, 6982–83).

Again the Liberal party laid emphasis on the doctrine that rural population should be more favoured in representation than urban, (Sir Wilfrid Laurier 3462–63; Mr. Paterson, 5282, 6771; Mr. D. D. Rogers, 6787). On the Opposition side little was said on this matter. But it was pointed out that the Bill in some instances actually worked out against the principle (5276, 6706). And it was also pointed out that the trend in England is against it. (6700,) 6708, 6543–50).

(3) *As to what body should make the readjustment.*

First the Government itself made the redistribution along county lines and determined the number of representatives to be allotted to these districts respectively. Then where the increase of population was such as to entitle a county to more than one member a method of subdivision was provided. "Under such circumstances," said Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "it is provided that a county may be divided into ridings on the principle we want to lay down, and which we do act upon, which is that whenever a county has to be divided into ridings, the division should take place by judicial decision and authority. This is the second principle upon which we base the Bill that we introduce to this House now." (3444–45), The section of the Bill embodying this provided for a board of commissioners composed of three judges of the Supreme Court of Ontario and they were to be instructed in making divisions simply "to consider the distribution of population according to the last Dominion census, the public convenience, and such divisions as appear to them best calculated to do substantial justice." (3446) These general words were to be the only instructions. (Sir Wilfrid Laurier 6909–12; Mr. Mulock, 5230–33).

The Opposition criticised the lack of instructions to the judges (Mr. Tisdale, 3466, Sir Charles Tupper, 5237; Mr. Sproule, 6676–81). It was also pointed out that this method of redistribution, though purporting to follow the English system, was in fact different. In this Bill the Government itself did the bulk of redistribution by indicating the county lines and only in so far as it left certain of the counties to be subdivided by the judges did it follow the English precedent. (Mr. Tisdale, 3465–6; Sir C. H. Tupper, 3493).

It should be observed that substantially the Bill affected only Ontario.

1900.

It may be worth while to have some reference here to what happened in 1900. The following is extracted from a speech by Mr. Tisdale in 1903 reviewing the positions of the parties on redistribution:

"Now, what did hon. gentlemen opposite do in 1900? So strongly did they feel—judging by their actions—on the importance of making this change in the carrying out of the redistribution that, notwithstanding that the Senate had rejected their measure, they reintroduced it in 1900; and pressed it to a conclusion. At that time the Conservative party went further than before. As a party, they accepted the principle of a reference to the judicial tribunal with rules for the guidance of that tribunal. But they also proposed that county

" boundaries should not be laid down as a principle, except subject to certain " conditions; and they proposed to refer the whole question to a judicial tribunal " to be composed of the chief justices of the Supreme Courts of the several pro- " vinces. Let me read the substantial part of that resolution:

First, that a commission to consist of the chief justices of the highest courts of judicature in each of the provinces of Canada shall be appointed for the purpose of fixing the boundaries of each constituency entitled to elect a member or members, to the House of Commons in each province of Canada, and to determine the number of members to be elected for each constituency in accordance with the British North America Act.

That such commission, in so doing, shall consider the distribution of population according to the then latest census of Canada and the public interest and convenience, and shall particularly have regard to the principle of representation by population, and also have regard as far as practicable to the boundaries of counties, municipalities and cities. (Hansard, 1903, vol. v., col. 12376.)

1903.

The Bill was introduced March 31, 1903, and passed the House September 25. There were changes in all the provinces but Quebec. Prince Edward Island fell from 5 to 4, Nova Scotia from 20 to 18, New Brunswick from 14 to 13, Ontario from 92 to 86 while British Columbia rose from 6 to 7, Manitoba from 7 to 10 and the North West Territories from 4 to 10 and 1 was given the Yukon Territory.

(1) *As to what body should determine the details of the redistribution.*

The Bill itself as introduced by the Government simply (excepting two interpretation sections) stated the number of members to be allotted to the various provinces and then declared that the provinces should be divided into electoral districts as provided in schedule (713). Thereupon Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the following announcement of the Government policy (712):

" We propose, therefore, on this occasion, as we did on a former occasion " when the last Redistribution Bill was before us, to propose to the House to " follow the British precedent. The last redistribution which took place in " England took place in 1884, under the Government of Mr. Gladstone. On " that occasion, Mr. Gladstone, before making his Bill, adopted the policy which " we intend to follow on this occasion. The Bill was prepared, at the invitation " of Mr. Gladstone, by a conference of the two parties in the House of Commons, " by a conference of the government and the Opposition. Mr. Gladstone invited " Lord Salisbury, who was then the leader of the Opposition to meet with him and " discuss with him the details of the Redistribution Bill which he had to introduce " following consequent upon the new Franchise Act. This conference took place " and, as a result, a measure was introduced which proved satisfactory to both " parties."

The specific proposal which purported to carry out this announcement was this:

" If this Bill is accepted by our friends on the other side, we intend, after it " has been debated and read the second time, to refer it to a special committee " composed of seven members, on which the opposition will be represented by " three, to be selected by themselves. The object of the committee will be to " create the constituencies which will be allowed to elect the members of this " House." (713-14.)

After the debate on the first and second reading the following motion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was carried:

" That the said Bill be referred to a Special Committee composed of Messrs. " Fitzpatrick, Sutherland (Oxford), Hyman, Davis, Borden (Halifax), Haggart

"and Monk, with instructions to prepare schedules to contain and describe the several electoral divisions entitled to return members to this House." (1294).

On the theory that it contemplated a real conference between the parties the Opposition accepted the proposal. But in the debate on the first and second readings Mr. Borden pointed out:

1. That the proposal did not, as it purported to, follow the English precedent of 1884, because—

- (a) In that case there was an informal conference before the Bill was introduced at all; "the members were not appointed by the House and had no duty of reporting to the House"; "it was, in fact, a conference between the two political parties." (1208).
- (b) "The conference of 1884 in Great Britain simply settled the principles to be applied in the work of redistribution." (1208).
- (c) Those principles were left to be carried out in the delimitation of the constituencies by a boundary commission and such a commission was appointed composed of eminent men (1208-9). (To same effect, Mr. Haggart, 12404 et seq.)

2. That the proposal was different from the Liberal position in 1892, for then the motion was for a conference "to agree upon the lines or principles on which "a Redistribution Bill should be drawn." That was nearer the English precedent. (1209).

3. That the proposal was not in line with the Liberal position in 1899, for then it was proposed that where counties had to be divided into ridings "the division should take place by judicial decision and authority." (1210).

4. That the proposal was consistent with either fairness or unfairness. Since the Government was in the majority on the committee it might simply reproduce the scheme of the majority in the House. To follow the English precedent there should have been a proposal for an equal number of members from each side (1211, 715). The suggestion was repeated when the motion for the committee was under consideration but was not recognized. (1294).

5. That the proposal was inadequate in that no principle whatever was announced to guide the redistribution save that of adherence to county boundaries. In Great Britain in 1884 full rules were laid down. (1211).

(It was also pointed out that no reference was made to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's proposition in 1892 that the parties should retain the same relative positions after redistribution (1212), nor to Messrs. Davies and Mills' point in 1892 that Parliament should delegate the actual work of redistribution to an independent authority (1213)). See also Mr. Haggart (1259-60).

Suggestion was also made that the committee be given power to examine witnesses on oath and send for persons and papers (Mr. Borden, 1294).

After sitting several months the Select Committee reported (7293) and the schedule was carried practically as submitted.

As to the working of the committee and the schedule reported there was long debate.

For the Government Sir Wilfrid Laurier contended that as the Bill had been referred to the committee by unanimous consent, and as the committee had reached a unanimous decision as to New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and the North West Territories, while in Nova Scotia there was a difference with regard to only one constituency, and had agreed to 39 constituencies in Ontario, differing as to 47, therefore the scheme had worked out satisfactorily as predicted (10849-51). Mr. Hyman to same effect (10873).

The opposition did not accept the committee report and a number of amendments were moved. All were rejected.

The chief grounds of criticism were these:

That since the Government put the committee forward as a conference it was to have been expected that certain principles would be formulated and the committee would proceed on these. The majority members refused to agree

to any. (Mr. Borden, 11441). Mr. Borden had moved the following resolutions (11441):

1. In accordance with the principle laid down by the Prime Minister in the House on the introduction of the Bill, municipal county boundaries shall be observed.

2. Where separate representation is given to cities the municipal boundaries of such cities shall be observed.

3. (a) The municipal county boundaries shall be those set forth in Chapter 3, Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1897, and that the word 'county' herein shall include any provisional county or territorial district established by the said Act.

(b) The separate representation to be allotted to cities of Ontario shall be first fixed and determined before proceeding with the representation of the rural constituencies.

(c) The unit of representation for such rural constituencies shall be determined by deducting from the total population of Ontario the combined population of the said cities and by dividing the remainder by the total number of seats to be allotted to rural constituencies.

(d) The population of any city receiving separate representation shall be excluded in computing the population of the county within which it is situate.

(e) The redistribution of the representation of Ontario shall then be determined as follows:—

Counties having a population below the unit.

(a) Each county having a population of not less than two-thirds of the unit shall be entitled to one member.

(b) Any county not entitled to one member shall be added to that adjoining county to which it is related as a judicial district, or with which it is connected for judicial or municipal purposes and the representation of such combined counties shall be dealt with upon the principles already and hereinafter stated.

Counties having a population larger than the unit.

(a) Each county or combined county having a population of not less than 50 per cent and not more than 150 per cent above the unit shall be entitled to two members, and each county or combined county having a population not less than 150 per cent and not more than 250 per cent above the unit shall be entitled to three members.

(b) If after applying these principles it is found that any seats remain to be allotted, such seats shall be allotted to the counties or combined counties approaching most closely to the conditions which, under the above rules, would entitle them to additional representation.

Division of cities or counties into ridings.

In the division of cities or counties into ridings the geographical limits of each riding shall be as symmetrical and compact as may be possible, always having regard to equalities of population.

The motion was negatived. (Mr. Monk to the same effect, 10834-37, 10840-43; Mr. Haggart, 10886-88).

The majority had objected because the rules would "tie their hands" (Mr. Sutherland, 10842). Mr. Hyman argued that the rules had been largely followed. (10860-65).

That the Committee was not a conference but in effect a partisan committee. That it was a misapprehension to speak of unanimity; as to many places there could be no possible grounds of disagreement, but as to the rest (chiefly in Ontario) the majority members had not accepted a single important suggestion from the minority (Mr. Borden 11440-47, 11459, 12481. To the same effect Mr. Monk, 10843-48; Mr. Haggart, 10886-10887).

That in short there was no real difference between this method of the Government bringing down the schedule in the first instance; the committee was simply a form and the result bore this out (Mr. Borden, 111,444-5, 11,646;

Mr. Monk 10,844–48; Mr. Tisdale, 12,379–86, 12,393–97; 12,407–14). Indeed, it seemed to appear that the Government or some members of it had agreed on the schedule beforehand, though there was much dispute as to the origin of the document and its effect (11,153, 11,471, 11,479–83, 11,497–98, 12,394–95). It was not in any event prepared at the outset; Sir Wilfrid Laurier stated shortly after the introduction of the Bill that no schedules had been prepared and that the Government had not committed itself (877–78).

It may be noted that some members of the Opposition urged that the whole work of redistribution should be delegated to a judicial tribunal, preferably one composed of the chief justices of the provinces (Mr. Haggart 10,891; Mr. Tisdale, 10,913–18, 12,383–86, 12,388–12,391).

2. As to the principles which should govern redistribution.

The Government position on this remained as before: county boundaries should be the controlling factor. Sir Wilfrid Laurier in introducing the Bill said (711):

“ We have always maintained that the guiding principle in this redistribution should be that county boundaries should be preserved. And we lay to-day as the basis of redistribution, which we hold ought to be accepted and adopted on this occasion, that the municipal representation of the county ought to be the basis of the parliamentary representation.” (To the same effect, 720. Also Mr. Paterson, 10,938; Mr. Sutherland, 11,141, qualified by “ Equalization of population as far as possible”; Mr. Blair, 11,812–13).

On the other hand the Opposition urged that regard should be had for representation according to population and other factors. Mr. Borden in opening the debate on the second reading said (1211–12):

“ My right hon. friend has not made any reference whatever to equality of population, although he laid a good deal of stress upon that in his speech of 1892. I would like to point out to him that in Great Britain in 1884 very full rules were laid down, and among them were these: In the first place equality of population; in the next place retaining in the divisions any particular portion of the population which was of an urban character, that is in the divisions of boroughs; in the third place, compactness of divisions with respect to geographical position; in the fourth place, community of interests. I think some of those, at least, require to be regarded to a considerable extent in the work of the committee, and perhaps it would have been better if my right hon. friend had introduced some of these principles into this Bill or into his speech.”

(To the same effect 11,804, 08; Mr. Haggart, 10,891; Mr. Sproule, 10,946).

The principle that rural population should be favoured over urban was reiterated by the Government (Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 10,899, 11,432; Mr. Sutherland, 11,109).

The Opposition stand on this was not particularly expressed save in so far as the tendency to lessen the force of the Government’s expression of it was indicated by the resolutions proposed in the committee (10,888). Toronto members were for equalizing urban and rural votes (Mr. Clarke, 11,738). And a formal protest was registered by the minority of the special committee against confining the representation of Toronto to five members (12,485).

Two other points may be mentioned. Mr. Borden asked:

- (1) Why two members were given as to a single constituency in Ottawa, Halifax and St. John while in Toronto the city was split up to give one member to one constituency (11,697) and
- (2) Why in some cases of a county containing another municipal unit—a city—they were treated separately, and in others combined? (11,717, 11,589–92).

(3) *As to the constitutional question raised by the reduction of representation in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Ontario.*

There was some debate on whether the reduction was really necessary under the terms of the British North America Act. (Mr. Borden, 715-18, 1214-17, 1265-67, 1291-92; Mr. Northrup, 1219-30; Mr. Barker, 1242-50; Mr. Lancaster, 1250-57; Mr. Haggart, 1261-65, 1267-69; Mr. Lefurgey, 1269-82; Mr. Sproule, 1283; Mr. Fitzpatrick, 1230-1241). The Government finally agreed to submit the question to the Supreme Court though it refused to hold up the Bill pending the decision (1284).

PART II.

PARTICULARS OF CENSUS OF 1911 AND EXTRACTS FROM DEBATE ON REPRESENTATION BILL OF 1903.

Province.	1911. Population.	1911. Represen- tation.	1901. Represen- tation.
Alberta.....	374,663	12	7
British Columbia.....	392,489	13	7
Manitoba.....	455,614	15	10
New Brunswick.....	351,889	11	13
Nova Scotia.....	492,338	16	18
Ontario.....	2,523,274	82	86
Prince Edward Island.....	93,728	3	4
Quebec.....	2,003,232	65	65
Saskatchewan.....	492,432	16	10
Yukon.....	8,512	1	1
	7,188,162	234	221

The unit is 30,819 for a House of 234 members. There is a population of 18,481 in the unorganized territory of the Northwest, but these are not included for representation purposes.

ELECTORAL DISTRICTS AND POPULATION

ALBERTA.

Calgary.....	60,502
Edmonton.....	57,045
MacLeod.....	34,504
Medicine Hat.....	70,606
Red Deer.....	61,372
Strathcona.....	49,473
Victoria.....	41,161

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Comox Atlin.....	42,263
Kootenay.....	50,772
Nanaimo.....	31,822
New Westminster.....	55,679
Vancouver City.....	123,902
Victoria City.....	31,660
Yale and Caribou.....	56,382

MANITOBA.

Brandon.....	39,734
Dauphin.....	44,000
Lisgar.....	23,501
MacDonald.....	35,841
Marquette.....	33,598
Portage la Prairie.....	27,950
Provencher.....	40,693
Selkirk.....	53,091
Souris.....	29,049
Winnipeg.....	128,157

NEW BRUNSWICK.

Carleton.....	21,446
Charlotte.....	21,147
Gloucester.....	32,662
Kent.....	24,376
Kings and Albert.....	30,285
Northumberland.....	31,194
Restigouche.....	15,687
St. John City and County.....	53,572
Sunbury and Queens.....	17,116
Victoria and Madawaska.....	28,222
Westmorland.....	44,621
York.....	31,561

NOVA SCOTIA.

Annapolis.....	18,581
Antigonish.....	11,962
Cape Breton North and Victoria.....	29,888
Cape Breton South.....	53,352
Colchester.....	23,664
Cumberland.....	40,543
Digby.....	20,167
Guysborough.....	17,048
Halifax, City and County.....	80,257
Hants.....	19,703
Inverness.....	25,571
Kings.....	21,780
Lunenburg.....	33,260
Pictou.....	35,858
Richmond.....	13,273
Shelburne and Queens.....	24,211
Yarmouth.....	23,220

ONTARIO.

Algoma, E.....	44,628
Algoma, W-O.....	28,752
Brant.....	19,259
Brantford.....	26,617
Brockville.....	18,531
Bruce, N.....	23,783
Bruce, S.....	26,249

ONTARIO—Continued.

Carleton.....	28,406
Dufferin.....	17,740
Dundas.....	18,165
Durham.....	26,411
Elgin, E.....	17,597
Elgin W-O.....	26,715
Essex, N.....	38,006
Essex, S.....	29,541
Frontenac.....	21,944
Glengarry.....	21,259
Grenville.....	17,545
Grey, E.....	19,650
Grey, N.....	26,991
Grey, S.....	19,250
Haldimand.....	21,562
Halton.....	22,208
Hamilton, E.....	39,793
Hamilton, W-O.....	37,279
Hastings, E.....	24,978
Hastings, W-O.....	30,825
Huron, E.....	16,289
Huron, S.....	19,508
Huron, W-O.....	17,186
Kent, E.....	23,698
Kent, W-O.....	32,297
Kingston.....	20,660
Lambton, East.....	22,223
Lambton, W-O.....	29,109
Lanark, N.....	14,624
Lanark, S.....	19,751
Leeds.....	18,222
Lennox and Addington.....	20,386
Lincoln.....	35,429
London.....	46,300
Middlesex, E.....	20,814
Middlesex, W-O.....	16,214
Middlesex, N.....	13,737
Muskoka.....	21,233
Nipissing.....	74,130
Norfolk.....	27,110
Northumberland, E.....	19,927
Northumberland, W-O.....	12,965
Ontario, N.....	17,141
Ontario, S.....	23,865
Ottawa City.....	73,193
Oxford, N.....	25,077
Oxford, S.....	22,294
Parry Sound.....	26,547
Peel.....	22,102
Perth, N.....	30,235
Perth, S.....	18,947
Peterborough, E.....	15,499
Peterborough, W-O.....	26,151
Prescott.....	26,968
Prince Edward.....	17,150

ONTARIO—Continued.

Renfrew, N.	23,617
Renfrew, S.	27,852
Russell	39,434
Simcoe, E.	35,294
Simcoe, N.	24,699
Simcoe, S.	25,060
Stormont	24,775
Thunder Bay and Rainy River	67,249
Toronto Centre	53,125
Toronto E.	68,912
Toronto N.	56,469
Toronto S.	43,956
Toronto, W-O	105,291
Victoria	36,499
Waterloo, N.	33,619
Waterloo, S.	28,988
Welland	42,163
Wellington, N.	22,292
Wellington, S.	32,200
Wentworth	34,634
York Centre	26,048
York, N.	22,415
York, S.	68,018

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

Kings	22,636
Prince	32,779
Queens	38,313

QUEBEC.

Argenteuil	16,766
Bagot	18,206
Beauce	51,399
Beauharnois	20,302
Bellechasse	21,141
Berthier	19,872
Bonaventure	28,110
Brome	13,216
Chambly and Vercheres	28,715
Champlain	42,758
Charlevoix	20,637
Chateauguay	13,322
Chicoutimi and Saguenay	63,341
Compton	29,630
Dorchester	25,096
Deux Montagnes	13,868
Drummond and Arthabsaka	41,590
Gaspe	35,001
Hochelaga	75,049
Huntingdon	13,240
Jacques Cartier	65,023
Joliette	23,911
Kamouraska	20,888

QUEBEC—Con.

Labelle.....	40,351
Laprairie-Napierville.....	19,335
L'Assomption.....	15,164
Laval.....	29,977
Levis.....	28,913
L'Islet.....	16,435
Lotbiniere.....	22,158
Maisonneuve.....	170,978
Maskinonge.....	16,509
Megantic.....	31,314
Missiquoi.....	17,466
Montcalm.....	13,862
Montmagny.....	17,356
Montmorency.....	13,215
Montreal-St. Anne.....	21,676
Montreal, St. Antoine.....	48,638
Montreal, St. James.....	44,057
Montreal, Ste. Laurent.....	55,860
Montreal, St. Marie.....	54,910
Nicolet.....	30,055
Pontiac.....	29,416
Portneuf.....	30,529
Quebec Centre.....	21,143
Quebec East.....	47,429
Quebec W-O.....	9,618
Quebec County.....	25,844
Richelieu.....	20,686
Richmond and Wolfe.....	39,491
Rimouski.....	51,490
Rouville.....	13,131
St. Hyacinthe.....	22,342
St. Jean and Iberville.....	21,882
Shefford.....	23,976
Sherbrooke.....	23,211
Soulanges.....	9,400
Stanstead.....	20,765
Temiscouta.....	36,430
Terrebonne.....	29,018
Trois Rivers and St. Maurice.....	36,153
Vaudreuil.....	11,039
Wright.....	48,332
Yamaska.....	19,511

SASKATCHEWAN.

Assiniboia.....	42,556
Battleford.....	47,075
Humboldt.....	52,195
MacKenzie.....	40,558
Moosejaw.....	87,725
Prince Albert.....	36,319
Qu'Appelle.....	35,608
Regina.....	70,556
Saltcoats.....	28,695
Saskatoon.....	51,145

YUKON.

Yukon.....	8,512
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WHEN REDISTRIBUTION TAKES PLACE.

The redistribution of the representation for the different provinces of the Dominion in the House of Commons is authorized by Section 51 of the British North America Act which says:

"On the completion of the census in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and of each subsequent decennial census, the representation of the four provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such a manner, and from such a time as the Parliament of Canada from time to time provides."

It is also provided that:

"Such readjustment shall not take effect until the termination of the then existing Parliament."

The first census of the Dominion was taken in 1881, and the Redistribution Bill was assented to on 14th June, 1872.

The Second Census of the Dominion was taken in 1871, and the Redistribution Bill was given the Royal assent on 17th May, 1882.

In 1886, a measure was passed giving representation to the North West Territories in both Houses of Parliament.

The Third Census of the Dominion was taken as of date of March, 1891, and the Redistribution Bill was assented to on 9th July, 1892. There was an Amending Act passed at the next session of Parliament in 1893.

On May 19th, 1899, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced a bill on behalf of Mr. Mulock, who was then absent from the House, making certain changes in the Act of 1892. This bill passed the Commons but was rejected by the Senate.

The Fourth Census of the Dominion was taken as of date of March, 1901, and the Redistribution Bill was assented to on the 24th of October, 1903. There was a preliminary report from the Census Department in regard to population, upon which such a bill is based, on August 15th, 1901, but a full report was not ready until February 26th, 1902.

In 1906-7 an Amendment was passed to the Representation Act making a gain of 4 seats for Saskatchewan and three for Alberta. This was an outcome of the Autonomy legislation, creating the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and increasing the total representation of the Dominion to 221 members.

The Fifth Census of the Dominion was taken as of date of June, 1911, and the report of the department in regard to population is dated February 27th, 1912.

The Government, therefore, had until the 24th of October, 1913, according to the time taken by the Laurier Government, to provide for a redistribution of seats. There is ample time to deal with this important matter without causing delay or inconvenience to anybody, because the Act for readjustment will not take effect until "the termination of the existing Parliament."

Under the Constitution there is no specified date for the introduction of a Redistribution Bill beyond that it shall be done after each decennial Census, and, the inference is, before another general election is held. As to the right of Parliament to pass Redistribution bills, such high constitutional authorities as Sir John Thompson, Hon. David Mills and others held that it was within its power to do so at any time, every year if it saw fit. That being so makes it conclusive that no special session for the introduction of such a measure was intended by the framers of the Confederation Act.

On March 31st, 1903, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced a bill for the redistribution of the representation in the House of Commons rendered necessary by the Census of 1901. In doing so he reminded the House that

" in introducing this bill the Government is not acting in any discretionary sense, but is performing an imperative constitutional duty, the Constitution having provided that after each decennial census there should take place a redistribution of the representation of the different provinces in this House. Three years ago I introduced a redistribution measure but that was very from the one I am now submitting. That was simply a partial measure of redistribution, a discretionary measure, one which we had the option of presenting or not, and our object then was not to frame a general scheme of redistribution, but simply to correct certain errors—or to use perhaps a more severe but more appropriate term—certain injustices which had been perpetrated on the province of Ontario by the Redistribution Act of 1882 and on the province of Quebec by the Redistribution Act of 1892. The motive, therefore, and the provisions of that measure were very different from those of the present one."

As to the representation of certain provinces being decreased, Sir Wilfrid said:

" Everybody is aware that in those provinces, which, according to the new redistribution must lose part of their representation, there has been some flurry of excitement, and well intentioned and well disposed persons have been making endeavors to convince themselves that by torturing the letter of the law, the law itself might be made to express the reverse of what it actually expresses. Unfortunately the letter of the law is such as not to allow of any doubt. Three redistributions have already taken place in this Dominion in 1872, 1882 and 1892. In almost every one of these redistributions the same thing has occurred. Certain provinces have been forced to lose part of their representation, and naturally protests were made, but the matter has been debated and discussed and determined by such able jurists and eminent men as Sir John MacDonald, the Hon. Edward Blake and Sir John Thompson, and it is not possible,—for my part I am indeed sorry, and I express my sorrow very sincerely that certain provinces will have to lose part of their representation in this House,—but it is not possible to avoid this. We have to abide by the law and to apply the law, and in applying the law the question is more of mathematics than of anything else. We have only to take the provisions of the Constitution, Section 51 and the figures of the Census, and find the result. In this matter Parliament is not a free agent."

Sir Wilfrid went on to say that the guiding principle in the bill should be that county boundaries should be preserved. He also proposed to follow British precedent and refer the bill to a Committee or Conference of both parties, a policy which he advocated in Opposition, but was not acceptable to the Government of that day. There were no schedules attached to the bill which he introduced. The Committee of seven, which he intended to have the bill referred to, would arrange the schedules. On this Committee the Opposition would have three representatives and the Government four.

(Hansard 1903, Vol. 1, Columns 708 and 709).

Mr. Borden, in reply, said that no possible system could be devised under which anomalies could not be discovered. As to the proposed conference, it would impress one with fairness, although in the end that might not be so real seeing the Government had a majority of the Committee. The leader of the Opposition desired to know what representations had been made to the Government in regard to the proposed reduction of representation in the Maritime provinces, and if the opinion of the law officers of the Crown upon the same had been obtained. He reminded Sir Wilfrid that by the Bill of 1899 it was proposed to make any division of counties by a Judicial Commission, and no reason was given for the new departure. (Hansard 1903, Vol. 1, Col. 715.)

On the second reading of the Bill Mr. Borden showed that the reference to a Committee of both parties was not the same as the British proposal of 1884, nor was it the same as the proposal of Sir Wilfrid in 1892, or in 1899,

although it did not necessarily follow that what was now proposed was not a fair proposition. So far they had only the skeleton of the Bill before them while the whole vitality of a Bill of this kind was to be found in the details.

(Hansard 1903, Vol. 1, Column 1210.)

REDISTRIBUTION BILLS WERE PASSED:

- (1) 35 Vic., Cap. 13. Assented to 14th June, 1872.
- (2) 45 Vic., Cap. 3. Assented to 17th May, 1882.
- (3) 55-56 Vic., Cap. 2. Assented to 9th July, 1892.
(This Act was amended by Chap. 9, 1893.)
- (4) 3 Edward VII, Cap. 60. Assented to 24th Oct., 1903.

After the Redistribution of Seats in 1871, a Bill was introduced transferring the Township of Tuckersmith from one division of Huron to another. The Bill passed the Commons, but was defeated in the Senate because the measure had not emanated from the Government.

On May 19, 1899, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced (on behalf of Mr. Mulock, who was absent) a redistribution Bill, the avowed object being to correct certain "injustices" caused by the Acts of 1882 and 1892. This Bill was read a third time in the Comomns. On the second reading in the Senate, Sir Mackenzie Bowell moved the following amendment:

"That it be resolved that it is inexpedient to proceed further with the Bill now under consideration, inasmuch as it is provided by section 51 of the British North America Act that the representation of the provinces in the House of Commons shall be readjusted upon the completion of each decennial census, subject to and in accordance with the rules in the said Act set forth, and as the next decennial census will, under the provisions of the Confederation Act, be taken in 1901, a readjustment of constituencies in the Dominion made previous to such census being taken would, in the opinion of this House, be a violation of the spirit of the said Act."

The amendment was carried on a vote of 36 for, to 14 against. The motion for the second reading of the Bill was lost on the same division reversed, and, therefore, the redistribution Bill was defeated.

(July 20, 1899, Senate Hansard, Column 897.)

A CONSTITUTIONAL POINT.

Redistribution is provided for by section 51 of the British North America Act, which says:

"On the completion of the census of 1871, and of each subsequent decennial census, the representation of the four provinces shall be readjusted by such authority, in such manner, and from such time as the Parliament of Canada from time to time provides."

On August 7, 1899, Sir Mackenzie Bowell in the Senate read the following from the Toronto "Globe" of the previous Saturday:—

LONDON OFFICE OF THE GLOBE,

August 4, 1899.

The Senate having thrown out the Redistribution Bill on the ground that it is unconstitutional to legislate in the direction of altering the electoral divisions except upon the occasion of the regular decennial adjustment, the following opinion is interesting. It speaks for itself. Our opinion is asked whether it is competent to the Canadian Parliament to legislate as proposed, and independently of the decennial adjustment. We are of opinion that it is competent.

(Sd.) EDWARD BLAKE.

R. B. HALDANE.

W. H. ASQUITH.

EDWARD CARSON.

ROBERT CECIL.

In answer to Sir Mackenzie, Mr. Mills said that he or, as far as he knew, none of the Government, had any communication with anyone in England in regard to the Redistribution Bill.

Hon. David Mills (Senate Hansard 1899, Page 789)

"I am perfectly sure that the view which I express will be upheld without question and without division in any judicial body to which we may appeal, "that it is open to Parliament, if so disposed, to introduce a new distribution Bill every year, so long as it does not depart from the principle which the census furnishes it."

Sir John Thompson (Commons Hansard, 1892, Col. 3260)—

"We have a clause in our Constitution which gives us the equivalent of "the inherent powers possessed by other assemblies. When this Parliament "was created, unlike other creations of statutes, it was not given a limited and "narrow authority which had to be drawn from the statute itself, but in lieu "of the inherent power possessed by other parliaments we have section 91 of "the Act, which says that this Parliament may make laws for the peace, order "and good government of Canada in relation to all matters not coming within "the classes of subjects assigned exclusively to the legislatures of the provinces."

(Sir John Thompson in 1892, quoted by Mills in Senate in 1899 discussion.)

REDISTRIBUTION BILLS BY PROVINCES.

The original Confederation consisted of four provinces, the representation being fixed as follows:

Ontario.....	82
Quebec.....	65
Nova Scotia.....	19
New Brunswick.....	15
	181

The Redistribution Bill of 1872 provided that the House of Commons should consist of 200 members:

Ontario.....	88
Quebec.....	65
Nova Scotia.....	21
New Brunswick.....	16
Manitoba.....	4
British Columbia.....	6
	200

The Redistribution Bill of 1882 provided that the House of Commons should consist of 211 members:

Ontario.....	92
Quebec.....	65
Nova Scotia.....	21
New Brunswick.....	16
Manitoba.....	5
British Columbia.....	6
Prince Edward Island.....	6
	211

The Redistribution Bill of 1892 provided that the House of Commons should consist of 213 members:

Ontario.....	92
Quebec.....	65
Nova Scotia.....	20
New Brunswick.....	14
Manitoba.....	7
British Columbia.....	6
Prince Edward Island.....	5
Northwest Territories.....	4
	—
	213

* The Redistribution Bill of 1903 (3 Edward VII, chap. 60) provided that the House of Commons should consist of 214 members:

Ontario.....	86
Quebec.....	65
Nova Scotia.....	18
New Brunswick.....	13
Manitoba.....	10
British Columbia.....	7
Prince Edward Island.....	4
Northwest.....	10
Yukon.....	1
	—
	214

After the establishment of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and after the quinquennial census of 1906, the representation of these two provinces was fixed by chapter 41 of the Statutes of 1907 at 7 and 10 respectively giving a net increase of 7 members and bringing the total representation of the House of Commons up to the number of 221, at which it stands at the present time.

COUNTY BOUNDARIES.

When the Redistribution bill was before the House of Commons in 1903, Sir Wilfrid Laurier laid down the principle that the Municipal County boundaries should be observed. Mr. Hyman, who was chairman of the committee dealing with the subject, said that while the committee was prepared to accept that rule in "a general sense" they were not prepared to do so "in the full sense". Mr. Sutherland explained that "the intention of the Prime Minister was that Municipal County boundaries should be adhered to, and not departed from for the purpose of political advantage."

Mr. Hyman pointed out that in one or two instances the Committee departed from County boundaries. He said:—

"So far as the County of Renfrew was concerned, it was felt by the Committee that the three townships of Clara, Head and Maria should be removed from Renfrew and placed with Nipissing. This was not done for political purposes and it was unanimously agreed to. Then it was decided that the townships of Osgoode and Gloucester should be taken from the County of Carleton and placed in Russell, and not only the members of the Government side, but the Opposition concurred. The only other instance which I can recall in which county boundaries were departed from was the township of South Monahan, which is municipally connected with the County of Northumberland, and which was for the purpose of representation in this House, placed in Peterborough."

Col. Hughes, replying to what Mr. Hyman said, (Hansard 1903 Col. 10,894) answered:

"I will just point out where these hon. gentlemen have failed to adhere to county boundaries in the Bill that is before us to-day. Take, for instance, the very first constituency in the list of those in Ontario:

1. The county of Brant, exclusive of the electoral district of Brantford, as hereinafter defined.

The city of Brantford is, municipally, as separate from the county of Brant as it is from the county of Carleton. Well, my hon. friend the Minister of Customs (Hon. Mr. Paterson) has united the county of Brant to the city of Brantford in order to make the county a little more secure. There is a violation of municipal boundaries.

Then we have:

2. The county of Carleton, exclusive of the city of Ottawa and the townships of Gloucester and Osgoode. Another violation of county boundaries.

Then:

6. The county of Frontenac, exclusive of the city of Kingston and the village of Portsmouth. Again a violation of county boundaries, for the village of Portsmouth belongs to the county of Frontenac for every municipal purpose.

Then:

11. The county of Leeds, exclusive of the electoral district of Brockville, as hereinafter defined.

The municipality of Brockville is absolutely separate from the county of Leeds, and yet our friends on the other side, in order to make a good solid constituency for one of their friends, have taken a part of the county of Leeds and annexed it to Brockville, another violation of county boundaries. Then:

18. The county of Russell, with the townships of Gloucester and Osgoode, and Rideau ward of the city of Ottawa.

There is a violation of county boundaries in this case also. Passing on, we find:

24. The territorial district of Nipissing, with the townships of Clara, Head, and Maria constitute the electoral district of Nipissing, and shall send one member.

This again breaks up municipal boundaries and violates the principle that these hon. gentlemen have been endeavouring, for as long as I can remember the world of politics, to make the people of Ontario believe they were in favour of observing."

County boundaries have been adhered to in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. In three instances two counties are joined together in New Brunswick for representation. In Nova Scotia part of Cape Breton has been added to Victoria. This is the only case of county boundaries being broken up in that province.

The counties joined together for representation purposed in the Maritime Provinces are: Queens and Shelburne in Nova Scotia, and Kings and Albert, Sunbury and Queens, and Madawaska and Victoria in New Brunswick.

PART III.

CALCULATION UNDER BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.

The British North America act provides:

"On any such readjustment the number of members for a province shall not be reduced unless the proportion which the number of the population of the province bore to the number of the aggregate population of Canada at the then last preceding readjustment of the number of members for the province is ascertained at the then latest census to be diminished by one-twentieth part or upwards."

A calculation under this section gives the following results:

ONTARIO.

	Per cent.
1901—Ontario.....	<u>2,182,947</u>
Dominion of Canada.....	5,351,186 40·7937
1911—Ontario.....	<u>2,523,274</u>
Dominion of Canada.....	7,188,162 35·1032

Decrease in ratio from 40·7937% to 35·1032% is a decrease of $\frac{5\cdot6905}{40\cdot7937} = 13\cdot95\%$

in the ratio, which percentage is in excess of one-twentieth (or five per cent) as provided by the British North America Act.

Population Northwest Territories excluded.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

	Per cent.
1901.—New Brunswick,	<u>331,120</u>
Dominion of Canada.....	5,351,186
1911—New Brunswick	<u>351,889</u>
	7,188,162

Decrease from 6·187% to 4·895%

a decrease of $\frac{1\cdot292}{6\cdot187} = 20\cdot88\%$ in the ratio, which percentage

is in excess of one-twentieth (or 5 per cent.) as provided by the B. N. A. Act.

Population Northwest Territories excluded.

NOVA SCOTIA.

	Per cent.
1901—Nova Scotia	$\frac{459,574}{5,351,186} = 8.588$
Dominion of Canada	$=$
1911—Nova Scotia	$\frac{492,338}{7,188,162} = 6.849$

Decrease in ratio from 8·588% to 6·849%

or $\frac{1.739}{8.588} = 20.25\%$ in ratio, which percentage is in excess of one-twentieth (or five per cent) as provided by the B.N.A. Act.
Population North West Territories excluded.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

	Per cent.
1901—Prince Edward Island	$\frac{103,259}{5,351,186} = 1.930$
Dominion of Canada	$=$
1911—Prince Edward Island	$\frac{93,728}{7,188,162} = 1.304$

Decrease in ratio from 1·930% to 1·304%

or $\frac{.626}{1.930} = 32.44\%$ in the ratio, which percentage is in excess of one twentieth (or five per cent) as provided for by the B. N. A. Act.
Population Northwest Territories excluded.

PART IV.

**POPULATION of Canada and its Provinces and Territories in the years 1871-81-91
1901-1911.**

Provinces.	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
CANADA.....	3,689,257	4,324,810	4,833,239	5,371,315	7,206,643
Alberta.....	36,247	49,459	98,173	73,022	374,663
British Columbia.....	25,228	62,260	152,506	255,211	455,614
Manitoba.....	285,594	321,233	321,263	331,120	351,889
New Brunswick.....	387,800	440,572	450,396	459,574	492,338
Nova Scotia.....	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,114,321	2,182,947	2,523,274
Ontario.....	94,021	108,891	109,078	103,259	93,728
P.E.I.....	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,488,535	1,648,898	2,003,232
Quebec.....	48,000	56,446	98,967	91,279	492,432
Saskatchewan.....				27,219	8,512
Yukon.....				20,129	18,481
Northwest Territories.....					

PART V.

MEMORANDUM, showing by Provinces, Population, Basis of Representation, Presumable Representation under New Redistribution, Fraction of Population under 30,811, present representation, Number of Votes Polled and Number of Voters on Voters' List at General Election, 1911. And to which is attached a detailed Statement showing Number of Polling Stations, Number of Votes Polled, Number of Voters on Voters' List and Population of each constituency at the General Election of 1911, together with Copy of Resume of said Election.

Province.	Population Census 1911.	- Basis of rep. as 65 is to 2,003,232 (pop- ulation of Que. viz. 30,819.)	Presumable representa- tion under new Redistribu- tion.
Alberta.....	374,663	30,819	12
British Columbia.....	392,480	30,819	13
Manitoba.....	455,614	30,819	15
New Brunswick.....	351,889	30,819	11
Nova Scotia.....	492,338	30,819	16
Ontario.....	2,523,274	30,189	82
Prince Edward Id.....	93,728	30,819	3
Quebec.....	2,003,232	30,819	65
Saskatchewan.....	492,432	30,819	16
Yukon.....	8,512		1
North West Territories.....	7,188,162	18,481	
	7,206,643		

EXTRACT FROM BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, 1867, *Re REPRESENTATION.*

51. On the completion of the Census in the Year One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, and on each subsequent decennial Census, the Representation of the Four Provinces shall be readjusted by such Authority, in such Manner, and from such Time, as the Parliament of Canada from Time to Time provides, subject and according to the following rules:—

- (1). Quebec shall have the fixed number of Sixty-five Members;
- (2.) There shall be assigned to each of the other Provinces such a number of Members as will bear the same Proportion to the Number of its Population (ascertained at such Census) as the Number Sixty-five bears to the Number of the Population of Quebec (so ascertained);
- (3.) In the Computation of the Number of Members for a Province a fractional Part not exceeding One Half of the whole Number requisite for entitling the Province to a Member shall be disregarded; but a fractional Part exceeding One Half of that Number shall be equivalent to the whole number;
- (4.) On any such Re-adjustment the Number of Members for a Province shall not be reduced unless the Proportion which the number of the Population of the Province bore to the Number of the aggregate Population of Canada at the then last preceding Re-adjustment of the Number of Members for the Province is ascertained at the then latest Census to be diminished by One Twentieth Part or upwards;
- (5.) Such Re-adjustment shall not take effect until the Termination of the then existing Parliament.

STATEMENT of Votes Polled, Number of Polling Stations, Number of Voters on Voters' List, and Population (Census of 1911) according to Representation Act, 1903, which came into force at dissolution of Ninth Parliament; namely, September 29, 1904.

ETAT des votes donnés, du nombre des arrondissements de votation, du nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale, et de la population (recensement de 1911) d'après la loi de représentation de 1903, laquelle fut mise en vigueur à la dissolution du neuvième parlement; savoir, le 29 septembre 1904.

GENERAL ELECTION, 1911—ELECTION GÉNÉRALE, 1911.

ONTARIO.

Electoral Districts. <i>Districts électoraux.</i>	Number of Polling Stations. <i>Nombre d'arron- dissements de rotation.</i>	Number of Votes Polled. <i>Nombre des votes donnés</i>	Number of Voters on Voters' List. <i>Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste electorale.</i>	Population.
Algoma East.....	128	7,164	15,329	44,628
Algoma West.....	78	4,918	8,453	28,752
Brant.....	31	3,461	4,387	19,259
Brantford.....	35	5,599	7,076	26,617
Brockville.....	35	4,391	5,700	18,531
Bruce North.....	60	4,970	6,832	23,783
Bruce South.....	58	5,653	7,547	26,249
Carleton.....	47	3,955	6,656	28,406
Dufferin.....	40	3,533	5,604	17,740
Dundas.....	35	3,880	5,165	18,165
Durham.....	54	5,858	7,739	26,411
Elgin East.....	29	4,232	5,304	17,597
Elgin West.....	43	6,361	7,740	26,715
Essex North.....	54	7,056	15,716	38,006
Essex South.....	58	5,691	7,879	29,541
Frontenac.....	56	4,405	6,456	21,944
Glengarry.....	33	4,123	5,387	21,259
Grenville.....	42	3,662	5,446	17,545
Grey East.....	57	4,035	6,298	19,650
Grey North.....	68	6,290	9,182	26,991
Grey South.....	38	4,230	5,939	19,250
Haldimand.....	48	4,955	6,212	21,562
Halton.....	35	4,817	6,128	22,208
Hamilton East.....	47	7,387	10,189	39,793
Hamilton West.....	49	7,482	9,953	37,279
Hastings East.....	58	4,732	6,993	24,978
Hastings West.....	53	5,475	9,533	30,825
Huron East.....	39	3,842	4,808	16,289
Huron South.....	47	4,606	5,643	19,508
Huron West.....	40	3,873	5,097	17,186
Kent East.....	48	4,925	7,174	23,698
Kent West.....	67	7,276	9,352	32,297
Kingston.....	26	4,299	5,071	20,660
Lambton East.....	68	4,946	6,453	22,223
Lambton West.....	63	6,189	8,757	29,109
Lanark north.....	32	2,999	3,846	14,624
Lanark South.....	37	3,301	5,591	19,751
Leeds.....	37	3,844	5,385	18,222
Lennox and Addington.....	47	4,574	6,025	20,386
Lincoln.....	62	7,599	10,010	35,429
London.....	53	8,615	12,043	46,300
Middlesex East.....	45	4,293	5,862	20,814
Middlesex North.....	34	3,483	4,529	13,737
Middlesex West.....	39	3,635	4,676	16,214
Muskoka.....	58	3,544	5,439	21,233
Nipissing.....	198	11,199	21,754	74,130
Norfolk.....	56	6,240	7,936	27,110
Northumberland East.....	39	4,645	6,101	19,927

STATEMENT of Votes Polled, &c.—Continued—ETAT des votes donnes, etc—Suite.

ONTARIO.

Electoral Districts. Districts électoraux.	Number of Polling Stations. Nombre d'arrondissements de rotation.	Number of Votes Polled. Nombre des votes donnes	Number of Voters on Voters' List. Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.	Population.
Northumberland West.....	28	2,846	3,503	12,965
Ontario North.....	45	3,722	4,799	17,141
Ontario South.....	47	5,464	6,785	23,865
Ottawa.....	96	*27,158	20,388	73,193
Oxford North.....	49	5,501	7,076	25,077
Oxford South.....	41	4,982	6,502	22,294
Parry Sound.....	75	4,794	7,613	26,547
Peel.....	40	4,996	6,621	22,102
Perth North.....	57	6,985	8,782	30,235
Perth South.....	40	4,524	5,657	18,947
Peterborough East.....	39	3,391	4,442	15,499
Peterborough West.....	53	5,846	8,156	26,151
Prescott.....	40	3,752	6,066	26,968
Prince Edward.....	38	4,328	5,357	17,150
Renfrew North.....	34	4,438	5,647	23,617
Renfrew South.....	48	4,755	6,990	27,852
Russell.....	66	6,648	9,412	39,434
Simcoe East.....	50	6,164	8,279	35,294
Simcoe North.....	50	5,124	6,947	24,699
Simcoe South.....	54	4,914	7,625	25,060
Stormont.....	45	4,947	6,861	24,775
Thunder Bay and Rainy River.....	185	Accl.	15,742	67,249
Toronto Centre.....	64	8,150	12,152	53,125
Toronto East.....	90	11,704	17,005	68,912
Toronto North.....	85	9,631	13,768	56,469
Toronto South.....	74	6,583	10,297	43,956
Toronto West.....	146	14,881	23,912	105,291
Victoria.....	81	6,708	10,242	36,499
Waterloo North.....	49	7,233	10,083	33,619
Waterloo South.....	42	6,131	8,565	28,988
Welland.....	60	Accl.	10,024	42,163
Wellington North.....	52	5,035	6,824	22,292
Wellington South.....	52	6,112	8,470	32,200
Wentworth.....	62	6,771	8,426	34,634
York Centre.....	45	5,166	7,012	26,048
York North.....	41	5,401	6,808	22,415
York South.....	89	9,095	14,252	68,018
Totals—Totaux.....	4,756	480,572	693,485	2,523,208

*Two members. Aggregate vote cast for the five candidates.

*Deux députés. Total des votes donnes pour les cinq candidats.

QUEBEC.

Argenteuil.....	35	3,051	4,212	16,766
Bagot.....	30	3,595	4,312	18,206
Beauce.....	74	8,282	10,932	51,399
Beauharnois.....	28	3,725	4,568	20,802
Bellechasse.....	30	3,438	4,298	21,141
Berthier.....	32	3,633	4,556	19,872
Bonaventure.....	36	3,839	5,079	28,110
Brome.....	26	3,016	3,836	13,216
Chambly and Vercheres.....	45	5,288	6,944	28,715
Champlain.....	58	7,255	9,193	42,758
Charlevoix.....	29	3,378	4,362	20,637
Chateauguay.....	23	2,522	3,414	13,322
Chicoutimi and Saguenay.....	88	841	14,043	63,341

STATEMENT of Votes Polled, &c.—Continued—ETAT des votes donnés, etc.—Suite.

QUEBEC—Concluded—Fin.

Electoral Districts. <i>Districts électoraux.</i>	Number of Polling Stations.	Number of Votes Polled.	Number of Voters on Voters' List.	Population.
	<i>Nombre d'arron- dissements de votation.</i>	<i>Nombre des votes donnés</i>	<i>Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.</i>	
Compton.....	54	5,830	7,673	29,630
Dorchester.....	38	4,680	5,514	25,096
Drummond and Arthabaska.....	63	7,333	9,517	41,590
Gaspé.....	51	4,370	5,874	35,001
Hochelaga.....	112	12,983	18,413	75,049
Huntingdon.....	25	2,490	3,284	13,240
Jacques-Cartier.....	94	10,224	15,498	65,023
Joliette.....	29	4,412	5,316	23,911
Kamouraska.....	29	3,594	4,492	20,888
Labelle.....	65	5,720	8,962	40,351
Laprairie and Napierville.....	28	3,421	4,214	19,335
L'Assomption.....	22	2,717	3,323	15,164
Laval.....	40	5,097	6,828	29,977
Lévis.....	40	4,770	6,230	28,913
L'Islet.....	26	2,722	3,669	16,435
Lotbinière.....	31	3,390	4,813	22,158
Maisonneuve.....	261	20,867	36,725	170,978
Maskinongé.....	27	2,905	3,753	16,509
Mégantic.....	51	5,605	7,486	31,314
Missisquoi.....	40	3,802	4,968	17,466
Montcalm.....	25	2,806	3,411	13,862
Montmagny.....	26	2,981	3,757	17,356
Montmorency.....	19	2,651	3,018	13,215
Montreal—Ste. Anne.....	59	5,885	8,036	21,676
Montreal—St. Antoine.....	71	7,345	10,820	48,638
Montreal—St. James.....	79	7,822	11,153	44,057
Montreal—St. Lawrence.....	91	8,249	11,783	55,860
Montreal—St. Mary.....	79	8,101	11,640	54,910
Nicolet.....	59	5,526	6,909	30,055
Pontiac.....	50	4,618	6,547	29,416
Portneuf.....	47	4,973	6,735	30,529
Quebec Centre.....	22	3,651	4,634	21,143
Quebec East.....	43	Accl.	10,087	47,429
Quebec West.....	14	2,347	2,887	9,618
Quebec County.....	34	4,542	5,431	25,844
Richelieu.....	34	4,012	5,310	20,686
Richmond and Wolfe.....	63	7,166	9,354	39,491
Rimouski.....	71	7,926	9,662	51,490
Rouville.....	28	2,656	3,359	13,131
St. Hyacinthe.....	35	4,450	5,503	22,342
St. Johns and Iberville.....	34	3,367	5,543	21,882
Shefford.....	45	4,516	6,210	23,976
Sherbrooke.....	36	4,603	5,877	23,211
Soulages.....	20	1,948	2,434	9,400
Stanstead.....	36	4,416	5,869	20,765
Témiscouata.....	47	5,614	7,002	36,430
Terrebonne.....	39	4,828	6,434	29,018
Three Rivers and St. Maurice.....	44	6,301	8,074	36,153
Two Mountains.....	26	Accl.	3,406	13,868
Vaudreuil.....	23	2,475	3,156	11,039
Wright.....	58	6,822	10,282	48,332
Yamaska.....	35	3,647	4,664	19,511
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	3,052	324,039	455,288	*2,002,712

*Including 2,066 in unorganized territory.

* Y compris 2,066 du territoire non organisé.

STATEMENT of Votes Polled, &c.—Continued.—ETAT des votes donnés, etc.—Suite.

NOVA SCOTIA—NOUVELLE -ECOSSE.

Electoral Districts. <i>Districts électoraux.</i>	Number of Polling Stations. <i>Nombre d'arrondissemens de votation.</i>	Number of Votes Polled. <i>Nombre des votes donnés</i>	Number of Voters on Voters' List. <i>Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.</i>	Population.
Annapolis.....	30	4,249	5,314	18,581
Antigonish.....	18	2,455	3,388	11,962
Cape Breton North and Victoria.....	41	6,221	9,266	29,888
Cape Breton South.....	66	10,257	15,414	53,352
Colchester.....	34	5,050	6,541	23,664
Cumberland.....	58	9,222	12,260	40,543
Digby.....	27	3,992	5,183	20,167
Guysborough.....	30	3,734	4,918	17,048
Halifax.....	94	*27,652	19,826	80,257
Hants.....	30	4,296	5,629	19,703
Inverness.....	44	4,976	7,848	25,571
King's.....	32	4,797	5,947	21,780
Lunenburg.....	56	6,882	9,285	33,260
Pictou.....	59	8,158	10,542	35,858
Richmond.....	22	2,251	3,489	13,273
Shelburne and Queen's.....	41	5,207	6,747	24,211
Yarmouth.....	30	3,614	5,397	23,220
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	712	113,022	136,994	492,338

*Two members. Aggregate vote cast for the four candidates.

*Deux députés. Total des votes donnés pour les quatre candidats.

NEW BRUNSWICK—NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK.

Carleton.....	30	5,217	5,987	21,446
Charlotte.....	36	5,174	6,309	21,147
Gloucester.....	32	5,352	6,971	32,662
Kent.....	24	4,463	5,298	24,376
King's and Albert.....	45	7,136	8,909	30,285
Northumberland.....	34	5,864	7,638	31,194
Restigouche.....	13	2,682	3,788	15,687
St. John City.....	44	8,655	11,118	
St. John City and County.....	58	10,872	13,841	53,572
Sunbury and Queen's.....	25	4,030	4,760	17,116
Victoria.....	36	4,170	6,406	28,222
Westmoreland.....	52	8,840	11,920	44,621
York.....	34	6,617	8,167	31,561
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	463	79,072	101,112	351,889

MANITOBA.

Brandon.....	75	8,006	9,629	39,734
Dauphin.....	81	6,600	9,415	44,000
Lisgar.....	34	3,364	4,350	23,501
Macdonald.....	62	5,751	8,127	35,841
Marquette.....	59	6,692	8,176	33,598
Portage la Prairie.....	53	5,859	7,044	27,950
Provencher.....	68	5,717	7,494	40,693
Selkirk.....	73	6,343	9,158	53,091
Souris.....	63	6,236	7,741	29,049
Winnipeg.....	134	23,128	27,454	128,157
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	702	77,696	98,588	455,614

STATEMENT of Votes Polled, &c.—Continued—ETAT des votes donnés, etc.—Suite.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.—COLOMBIE-BRITANNIQUE.

Electoral Districts. <i>Districts électoraux.</i>	Number of Polling Stations. <i>Nombrc d'arron- dissements de votation.</i>	Number of Votes Polled. <i>Nombre des votes donnés.</i>	Number of Voters on Voters' List. <i>Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.</i>	Population.
			<i>Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.</i>	
Comox-Atlin.....	115	3,432	9,917	42,263
Kootenay.....	140	7,152	12,059	50,772
Nanaimo.....	41	4,188	6,536	31,822
New Westminster.....	94	5,391	12,465	55,679
Vancouver City.....	117	11,899	22,944	123,902
Victoria City.....	30	5,438	8,246	31,660
Yale-Cariboo.....	174	6,059	10,914	56,382
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	711	43,559	83,081	392,480

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.—ILE DU PRINCE-EDOUARD.

King's.....	38	5,062	**	22,636
Prince.....	48	6,943	**	32,779
Queen's.....	64	*16,631	**	38,313
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	150	28,636	**	93,728

*Two members. Aggregate vote cast for the four candidates.

*Deux députés. Total des votes donnés pour les quatre candidats.

**No Voters' List in Prince Edward Island.

**Pas de liste d'électeurs dans l'Ile du Prince-Edouard.

SASKATCHEWAN.

Assiniboia.....	112	9,382	11,786	42,556
Battleford.....	200	8,975	17,062	47,075
Humboldt.....	188	10,212	17,278	52,195
Mackenzie.....	86	5,829	8,752	40,558
Moosejaw.....	376	14,238	26,874	87,725
Prince Albert.....	145	6,277	9,941	36,319
Qu'Appelle.....	103	8,172	12,028	35,608
Regina.....	151	10,637	16,204	70,556
Saltoats.....	71	5,553	7,700	28,695
Saskatoon.....	145	9,768	14,789	51,145
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	1,577	89,043	142,414	492,432

ALBERTA.

Calgary.....	107	13,203	17,486	60,502
Edmonton.....	218	12,447	19,637	57,045
Macleod.....	143	7,403	10,698	34,504
Medicine Hat.....	192	11,215	18,259	70,606
Red Deer.....	250	10,593	17,261	61,372
Strathcona.....	202	8,268	13,735	49,473
Victoria.....	159	6,646	10,152	41,161
Totals— <i>Totaux</i>	1,271	69,775	107,228	374,663

YUKON TERRITORY.—TERRITOIRE DU YUKON.

Yukon.....	35	2,114	2,552	8,512
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STATEMENT of Votes Polled &c.—Continued—ETAT des votes donnés, etc.—Suite.

SUMMARY.—SOMMAIRE.

Electoral Districts. Districts électoraux.	Number of Polling Stations. Nombre d'arron- dissements de votation.	Number of Votes Polled. Nombre des votes donnés.	Number of Voters on Voters' List. Nombre d'électeurs inscrits sur la liste électorale.	Population.
	—	—	—	
Ontario.....	4,756	480,572	693,485	2,523,208
Quebec.....	3,052	324,039	455,288	2,002,712
Nova Scotia.....	712	113,022	136,994	492,338
New Brunswick.....	463	79,072	101,112	351,889
Manitoba.....	702	77,696	98,588	455,614
British Columbia.....	711	43,559	83,081	392,480
Prince Edward Island.....	150	28,636	**	93,728
Saskatchewan.....	1,577	89,043	142,414	492,432
Alberta.....	1,271	69,775	107,228	374,663
Yukon.....	35	2,114	2,552	8,512
 Totals—Totaux.....	13,429	1,307,528	1,820,742	†7,187,576

**No Voters' List in Prince Edward Island.

***Pas de liste d'électeurs dans l'Ile du Prince Edouard.*

†Not including the 18,481 population in North West Territories.

†*Non compris 18,481 de population dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest.*

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Can Memoranda on the redistribution of seats
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